Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

Introduction

Three very different types of events in the 1970s have prompted this work. One, the transcription of the last writings from Marx's pen, The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx, created a new vantage point from which to view Marx's oeuvre as a totality. This cast a new light on the modern conception of his work, which has been seen as a distinct stage of thought. The second type of event was the publication of Rosa Luxemburg's works, which have been republished in a new edition. The third type of event that has prompted this work is the publication of a new edition of Rosa Luxemburg's works, which have been republished in a new edition. The total disregard of the feminist dimension of Rosa Luxemburg by Marxists and non-Marxists alike calls for the record to be straightened on that dimension in Luxemburg. Moreover, there is a need for today's books to be aware of this dimension.

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From auto industry to trucking to high tech

Workers challenge Reaganomics and their union leadership

by Andy Phillips

For the first time since the founding of the UAW, and by a more than 2 to 1 margin, the Chrysler workers in October rejected a national contract, the one negotiated by UAW President Douglas Fraser and unanimously approved by the Chrysler union negotiating council. They have now voted for negotiations to resume in January. At the same time, and despite the continuing collapse of the national economy, tens of thousands of other workers were striking in protest against concessionary leaders, concessionary contracts and in defiance of company threats to close plants.

The widening gulf between rank-and-file workers and the top union leaders has long been recognized, but the Chrysler vote reveals a further separation between the ranks and the union bureaucracy.

The Chrysler experience reflects a growing revolt by the rank-and-file against the totally inadequate, bankrupt policies of their union leadership. These policies of do-nothingness or, even worse, stumping to give concessions that will be wrung out of reduced wages and worker speed-up, have resulted in a decline of union membership in the country, where its totals less than 20 million workers, or about 20 percent of the workforce, compared with over 38 percent ten years ago.

MILITARIZATION OF SPACE

In contrast to the paralysis of the labor leaders, and indeed because of it, the Reagan Administration is now considering the militarization of space to add to its militarization of the economy, an economy that is tottering on the brink of disaster. One of President Reagan's top nuclear advisors, Dr. Edward "Strangelove" Teller, the father of the hydrogen bomb, recently proposed the possibility of deploying a new weapon in space that would

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ON THE INSIDE

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**Luxemburg's revolutionary democracy**

It was with this in mind that I looked again at Chapter 4 of the book. "From the 'National Question' and its Solution to the Problem of a Socialist State," by Rosa Luxemburg. Freedom only for the supporters of the government, only for the members of one party — however monstrous they may be — is no freedom at all. Freedom is always and exclusively freedom for the one who thinks differently.

— Rosa Luxemburg

**The Russian Revolution**

But now the government has become a government of the ruling class. It is an old story that after the revolutionary conquest of power the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' becomes a dictatorship. But we must not forget that in the course of history the concept of democracy has always been richer and more varied than the concept of dictatorship. It was the wrong time or impossible to fully work out the idea of democratic centralism in its Leninist formulation. It was wrong to try to set an example before the world proletariat, when it was the wrong time; one can only do something if it is the right time. But even under conditions of the wrong time, one might try to set an example. From the 1905 Revolution on, 'the problematic of our day' — the question of socialist democracy after the revolutionary conquest of power.

In thinking of how this concept of revolutionary democracy relates to the present, I recalled the letter Dunayevskaya had written to our Women's Liberation Committee that has been quoted before. She had written: "I have found it full of surprises. Dunayevskaya shows that Luxemburg was right on the abstraction, you are wrong." How could that be? The unions are demanding that people be hired as regular employees instead. — Protester

**Japanese woman activist tells anti-war history**

Editor's note: Following is an interview with a Japanese woman anti-war activist, Shigeko Ishimura.

In re-reading the manuscript of Rosa Luxemburg, I was the first to raise the problematic of democracy after the revolutionary conquest of power.

**WORLDWIDE**

**Women Worldwide**

About 250 demonstrators from the American Indian Community gathered at a New York trade show to protest a line of "adult" video games such as "Custer's Revenge" in which the object of the game is the male character to rape an Indian woman who is tied to a tree. A spokesmen from the New York Indian group said, "We see this disgusting video game for what it truly is — a sexist, racist, sadistic expression, the sole purpose of which is to fill the pockets of its promoters.

The Ministry of the Interior of Saudi Arabia is trying to reverse a trend among marriage-age men who marry for- eign women to avoid paying the dowries required of men who marry native women. For the first time, the loan only becomes non-refundable if the woman bears a child!

(Information from The Longest Revolution)

National demonstrations were held in 13 cities on Oct. 3 commemorating the death of Rosa Luxemburg. — Protester

**Protesters expose 'workfare'**

New York, N.Y. — Fifty city hospital workers and welfare recipients demonstrated in front of city hall yesterday to protest social service workers. This is forcing people on public assistance to work off their welfare checks in city agencies. They appeared in support of a law titled "workfare" which forces welfare recipients to work for what they are now receiving. — Terry Moon

**NEWS & LETTERS**

November, 1982
Farmers can’t escape capitalist crisis

by Felix Martin, Co-Editor

After talking to many farmers in my recent trip across the Midwest, I can see that the American farmer is in as bad economic shape as the working class as a whole. The life of the farmer has been made difficult, bankruptry, unemployment and threatening poverty.

The dismal position of the American farmer today has rotted the policies of the Eisenhower Administration over 20 years ago. At that time I was a farmer, a time when the government brought in the Soil Bank — that they can take some of your cropland. The price of farmland has dropped so low they lose even more by selling.

The reason for this crisis is the drive for increased yield per acre and the enormous outlay in cost for fertilizer and high technology this requires. Today’s crisis in farming is rooming much the same as in the labor movement. The workers like myself at GM have seen happening for years. We have seen management come in demanding more and more productivity, still making the price of farmland and labor go down. We have seen more and more automation to boost production and tons workers out of work. That has brought the American autocracy and the farmers now in deep trouble.

When I left the farm life for General Motors 20 years ago I thought I was leaving the “pre-capitalist” method of production. I was, but I never thought I would be working for Ajax-Om- ter — the factory. Now I see that farmers experience the same problem workers do — capitalism’s hunger for profits.

Capitalism’s method has made a unity out of the farm and the factory — but if workers and farmers get to gather against the economic crisis they both face, it will be the beginning of a new unity from which is will spell the end of capitalism altogether.

Then all the farmers I talked to were looking for something new. Some are moving into the city, but many know they won’t be able to grow enough food to support the number of people they could grow their own food and not starve. But now the banks are coming in to throw farmers off their land. Because it costs so much to make these high technologies, farmers can’t get un­employment insurance, so you wonder what happens to them.

It’s the same problem workers like myself laid off from GM deal with. Once workers and farmers don’t let another crisis come about. I think it’s important to be sure to find new ways of getting together against the crises of this system.

Workers’ Bookshelf

‘Revolution in Seattle’

Revolution in Seattle, by Harvey O’Connor, Left Bank Books, 75 Pike Street, Seattle, Wash. 98101, 1981, $7.50

Workers of an entire city defy the government to stage a general strike in support of the demands of the shipyard workers.” That sounds like Gdans, Poland, today, but it describes Seattle, U.S.A., 1919. That Seattle General Strike of October 1919, of course, was not a spontaneous occurrence. It was the result of a long history of struggle.

As I write this in the early 1980s, the Seattle area is facing a similar crisis of capitalism. Seattle is a city of workers. It is a city of workers who have been fighting for better wages, better conditions, and better lives for themselves and their families. It is a city of workers who are struggling to make ends meet in a world that values profit over people.

But the major concern of the strike leaders seemed to have been the success of the strike. They had to get the workers, maintaining “order” and avoiding provocations.

The strike committee ordered workers to stay home, and the workers listened. They did not want to risk the strike’s chances if any further confrontation got out of hand. It was an unusual show of discipline.

One of the most important features of this book is that it is a diary. It is the diary of a worker who was there, who lived through the strike, who watched it happen.

Many thanks to Left Bank Books for reprinting this book, and to the workers in activity grappling with questions of organization.

— Bob McGuire

Fraser’s sham democracy

Detroit, Mich. — I’ve worked at Chrysler Eldon-Axle for 14 years and have been laid off a year. The vote to strike Chrysler or to postpone the first time is unnecessary in my opinion because we voted in August to strike if we didn’t have a contract by the middle of Sep­tember. And now they are giving us that after saying that they will give us a contract. I think what Chrysler gives us or work to the first of the year and negotiate all over again.

Fraser is trying to appear democratic by letting the membership vote on continuing contract talks. But he is really trying to give the workers what they want — a pay increase — but then he says that the contract may not pass. Fraser said on the news that even if the workers vote to strike they are not going to get any more money.

People haven’t had any new money in three years. Chrysler and the UAW made it look like they were giving the workers new money. But the workers haven’t had any new money. Now they are giving us a contract, but because they cut it off it was $2.31 and they were going to start it over at 18 cents.

There are now less than 700 workers at Eldon-Axle. Ten years ago they had more than 2000 workers. The workers there are fighting for the contract they rejected.

There are a lot of people out of work with 14-15 years seniority because they won’t let you go to another plant. The union said that as long as your plant is open you won’t be fired. They don’t want any more people.

— Laid-off Chrysler worker
Daily events ever since the Polish military junta banned all labor unions, including Solidarity, on Thursday, Oct. 8, have not only failed to prove the death of Solidarity, but have renewed attention on the unceasing activity of destroying satellites and missiles. This also adds another dimension to the horror of civilization's end in the 20th century. 

As the workers' movement deepened, the Polish authorities were forced to crack down on the “unions.” The authorities saw this threat to their own national interest as an opportunity to move against the workers, who were striking against the injustices of the state. The authorities were afraid that the workers would use the strike as an opportunity to demand better conditions and rights, which could have further undermined the authority of the state. 

The authorities took a series of actions to try to crush the labor movement. They banned Solidarity and other labor unions, arrested leaders of the movement, and imposed a state of emergency. Despite these measures, the workers continued to resist and the movement grew. Solidarity was able to mobilize millions of workers and gain international support, which helped to sustain the movement.

The Polish workers were able to continue their struggle for democracy and workers' rights despite the repression of the authorities. The movement grew in strength and eventually led to the fall of the Soviet bloc and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. Today, Solidarity continues to be a symbol of the power of workers and the importance of organizing for justice and freedom.
**Worker’s voice from DeLorean auto plant**

Editor’s note: As the media incessantly focuses on the “tragic” problems of labor at the DeLorean auto plant and John DeLorean’s drug deals, we thought it more appropriate to focus on the voices of the DeLorean workers. Here is an interview with Pat Groves, former DeLorean plant and worker who was fired, who worked on the car to the extent that they had to be trained, and who brings different perspective to the picture often presented.

We in Northern Ireland had never seen a car being manufactured before the DeLorean plant opened. The workers were told they were joining in the production of the car to the extent that they had to be trained, worked long hours, worked without applying for increased wages which would have led to job losses for the smaller mines. We belong to a union which is affiliated to the British Isles. We felt the bread should be had and that we belong to a union — the biggest union in the British Isles. We felt that we should have had the full support of the union. I was an elected shop steward in that union.

**NO SUPPORT FROM UNION**

But we felt we just didn’t have the full support of the union. We felt we were on our own. It was set up that way. I’m from a Nationalist trainee said he was also sick of the labor leaders, like Ford’s Pico Rivera plant has been closed and now it is obvious, it was a blatant lie.

Almost all the streams in that part of the country that area who will feel the effects of it becoming a dump site for radioactive waste here have been laid off too. Reagan doesn’t just cut in their jobs. He in Northern Ireland had never seen a car being manufactured before the DeLorean plant opened. The workers were told they were joining in the production of the car to the extent that they had to be trained, worked long hours, worked without applying for increased wages which would have led to job losses for the smaller mines. We belong to a union which is affiliated to the British Isles. We felt the bread should be had and that we belong to a union — the biggest union in the British Isles. We felt that we should have had the full support of the union. I was an elected shop steward in that union.

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**Ex-uranium miner looks at anti-nuke movement**

Los Angeles, Cal. — I’m very happy to see that the anti-nuclear weapons movement is getting so strong, but sometimes I wonder where the people in it get their ideas — to me it has always seemed that the real nuclear war is not something you have to see happen — it’s already going on, in the mines, factories and fields of this country.

I worked in the uranium mines for a short while. There wasn’t much I could do for the safety of the workers. Two of my uncles died of lung cancer from working in the mines. In the part of Colorado where uranium mining is done, there are specialists in the world because of the rate of lung cancer is three to four times higher than anywhere else in the world.

One inhumane thing about uranium mining is that in the smaller miners are paid for running drifts — paid so much an hour that they just don’t have money for the safety of the workers. Two of my uncles died of lung cancer from working in the mines. In the part of Colorado where uranium mining is done, there are specialists in the world because of the rate of lung cancer is three to four times higher than anywhere else in the world.

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IDEAS AGAINST NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION...

I have been thinking about the "Theoretical Union," founded by Dunayevskaya (Oct. N&L) which takes up the "Green" in Germany's anti-nuke movement. It is inspired by the CND movement here in Britain and its inability to lower the nuclear arms race. The CND here is only interested in preserving and not changing the world. Its members believe that the strongest weapon against the CND is to recognize the real reason of "the lower and deeper" layers, speaks of preserving or at best tawking, and not of a total uprooting. The response in the Greens and CND to the threat posed by Russian as well as U.S. nuclear weapons has been inadequate... To identify Europe as a 'relatively clean' but not a clean (as when the peace movement and socialism are thought of as one and the same thing. The Pentagon is in front of world, not into both. Only the youth in CND are asking questions about the nature of societies and ideologies, which take advantage of how hard it is to break totally from this society by offering all these short cuts to liberation — which lead to nowhere. There is a whole generation of youth. The Left and the Left has to avoid them if it isn't going to disorder yet another generation of youth.

Ed. Note: The whole Full Perspectu Report, "What do: Facing the depth of the recession and the new political climate as well as the philosophical sold", is still available from N&L for $4.50.

... AND REAGANOMICS

Reagan and Brezhnev must think that their "half-way houses" in the "Theory/Practice" have plenty of them standing in the way of genuine liberation. Trotskyism, Maoism, narrow nationalism and more. To me it doesn't refer to people who are half-way between being full revolutionaries and being more or less indirect, no end, direct, indirect, all. It refers to "houses", (places, structures, ideologies), which take advantage of how hard it is to break totally from this society by offering all these short cuts to liberation — which lead to nowhere.

...Worker power in Los Angeles

I appreciated the discussion on "half-way houses" in the "Theory/Practice" but there are contradictions in the native peoples' movement here. But what disordered the left? I don't know, because the CND here didn't grow up. The "half-way houses" were growing up like it seemed like many Blacks owned large areas of land and were also fighting for their land and would be making sure that native peoples play a very important part.

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THE BLACK SOUTH TODAY

More than 500 members of SCLC and other groups in Warren County, North Carolina, met Sept. 27 with National Highway Patrol officers Sept. 27 when they protested the State's dumping of toxic chemical PCBs on the community. Many protesters are correct that Warren County was chosen because it is rural, poor and largely Black. The outgoing county commissioners (re- storing civil rights by Black candidates) collaborated with the state in setting up the site over citizens' protests. The dump site is the new location for the solid waste from the town's churches, and residents fear that their wells and water will be contaminated. This is what has happened elsewhere.

Ed. Note: Women's Liberation — News and Letters Committee urges all feminist readers of N&L to participate in our ongoing discussion of the direction of the women's liberation movement, whether by commenting on the articles you read in N&L, on your activities in the movement, or your reading of News and Letters.
THEIR READERS WRITE

I took the last issue of News & Letters into the sweat shop I work in and it went over well. It is a shop in which artists work on very expensive prints, at minumum wage. The sweat shop conditions are related only to the wage but to the toxic materials we work with.

My co-workers appreciated the information from and experiences of others in shops and the juxtaposition of these experiences with the "Theory/Practice" column.

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Vernon, Connecticut

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A VIEW FROM PARIS

Here’s a view from Paris. The situation internally here is taking its natural course. Early promises forgotten; a few concessions, but designed to save capitalism for itself and not to profoundly change it. An echo of the Carter presidency. Austerity (inflation and unemployment) and repression: change in Lebanon. A feeling that there is “dependence” on the “international community” and that failure to criticize Begin’s neo-fascist government to completely forget its promises on the “right to self-determination.”

As in West Germany, one has the feeling of fear being used by the State to defend its own repression. Imposition of wage and price controls. As in the US, there is a feeling of the "Tension has enabled the Mitterrand government to completely forget its promises on the "right to self-determination."

For now the conflict is muted in France. All eyes turn to the Middle East. But the struggle continues. The mechanism of the mass media, it is essential that N&L continue to bring the truth to light. It is regrettable that I only have five copies to distribute. Please contribute $5.00 extra to help continue your work. I hope to be of somewhat greater support in the future.

Long-time friend

Reseda, Calif.

Please send me one copy of Rosa Luxemburg, Women’s Liberation and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution as soon as it is available. Could you also send a list of other literature published by N&L. My husband and I are starting a “traveling bookstore” to take Marxist literature to the campuses and the underground of the New York area, and we would like to include your publications.

Student

New Paltz, NY

OUR READERS WRITE

I find N&L refreshing and enlightening; it analyzes and identifies the so-called social problems of our day correctly and in a way that the so-called free press obviously cannot and does not identify as such. I wish you had a bigger circulation and could find a way to introduce people to your concepts without the jargon which frightens off so many.

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Venice, Calif.

N&L is a tonic to the majority of the tiny minority we call “Left” in this country. I wish you had a bigger circulation and could find a way to introduce people to your concepts without the jargon which frightens off so many.

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SPAIN’S SOCIALISTS

What do you think of the election of the Socialist Party in Spain? I know that what is passing for socialism is hardly social.

Perhaps I see too much. The experience with the “Theory/Practice” column...
President, is part of the continuing assault upon free public education behind a smoke screen of supporting education in general.

In spite of Terrell Bell's — Reagan's Secretary of Education — announcement that: "We feel that education is one of our most precious assets..." the Department of Education has reduced federal funding to all programs in public education by 20-25 percent. This is just a starter, because the Department's goal is to reduce federal funding by half of what it was in 1981.

To add "black grazes" to the states, without guidelines on how the money should be spent, and lack of civil rights enforcement, especially busing. If this is not enough, the Department could cut off civil rights by cutting off the money. After Reynolds and Reagan and Bell would like to deliver a final coup in the form of a tuition tax credit that would give middle class parents the chance to send their children to private schools. If Congress enacts this scheme 40 percent of the projected federal expenditure for education would go to a privileged minority.

THE CIVIL WAR AND EDUCATION

Public education alone in a capitalist society, will never end Black oppression in this country. Historically education has always been a focal point for Black liberation struggles which extend back into the antebellum days when it was a felony to teach a Black person to read or write.

It took the second American Revolution, the Civil War, to set the stage for the building of a system of public education in the North. It also was in the North that the seeds of a movement which would demand it. Land and schools were the watch-words of the newly emancipated slaves.

For the first time in the history of the United States, they have challenged, the system's stated democratic principles to provide equal education. The ending of unequal segregated schools was one of the main aims of the Civil Rights Movement. Research shows that from the ruling classes was and is an integral part of all the other rights Blacks have fought for.

Yet today civil education is an ideological fantasy because schools, like every other institution, are conditioned by the society in which we are educated. The crisis in public education is not a social problem, but a social problem that has a direct relationship to the crisis within U.S. capitalism, and the present state of class/race relations.

The present system of public education is in a dismal state. Most schools fail to provide a real education for Black and white students alike. The workers must demand to end this inhuman system of education.

FREEDOM SCHOOLS IN THE SIXTIES

The Civil Rights Movement had intervened into the question of Black education on two levels in the 1960s:

First it demanded that public schools be desegregated and equal funding be provided for all. And secondly, it raised the highest point of consciousness, the movement organized the Freedom Schools in the South that challenged the very idea of an education that separated itself from the activity of changing society. In the words of its organizer, Robert Moses, the Freedom Schools were seeking, "A new way of thinking for people of our generation."

It is from this point of departure that our critique and activity to change the public school system in America must begin.

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The police dog was drawn community protest

Oakland, Cal. — On July 18, an Oakland police officer with a German shepherd dog attacked my 16 year old son as he was walking home from school.

When my son ran to his father, he was met with a police officer who drew his dog and knocked him to the ground and gave the dog a free range to attack my son. The dog tried to bite my son, but was restrained by his father. My son realized he was being attacked by a police officer with a police dog and called 911.

When my son was released from the hospital, he was told that he had to go to court and press charges against the police officer. My son was not able to press charges against the police officer because he was taken to the hospital.

In summary, the police officer committed a violent act against a minor and did not report the incident to the police department.

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The white sheets may be flowing again, but so is the light of hope. The Kronn image is a symbol of the struggle for freedom and justice. It is a reminder that we must continue to fight for our rights and against the forces that seek to divide us.

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The Kronn image represents the struggle for justice, equality, and freedom. It is a symbol of the spirit of the Kronn and the fight against oppression. The Kronn image is a representation of the strength and resilience of the Kronn people.

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The white sheets may be flowing again, but so is the light of hope. The Kronn image is a symbol of the struggle for freedom and justice. It is a reminder that we must continue to fight for our rights and against the forces that seek to divide us.
Women's Liberation Movement to absorb Luxemburg's revolutionary philosophy.

Workers challenge Reaganomics, unions leaders

(continued from page 4)
tecticist policies which inhibit trade growth. World trade first grew continuously in the early World War II, but has declined at the rate of $100 billion a year for the past two years.

Some economists, while acknowledging that hundreds of millions through the basic industries of auto, steel, rubber and construction will never be recalled, point to the growth of high technology industries as the solution to unemployment. It is certainly true that vast numbers of laid off basic industry workers will never return to their jobs, but it is even more certain that they can never be absorbed in high tech industries — even if all of them could be retrained to fill these jobs, which will likewise never happen. For that matter, even workers in high tech industries are now being hit by lay-offs.

Michigan, and more specifically Detroit, historically associated with the power of organized labor, are the focus of the national attack by capital to destroy that power. Under the impact of the three-year depression in auto, the auto corporations have insisted on, and UAW President Fraser has agreed to, concessionary contracts. When Fraser forced the Chrysler workers to accept the concessions demanded by the company to "save" the corporation from bankruptcy two years ago, he unloosed the flood-gates for the assault on labor throughout the country, but nowhere more so than in his own domain in Detroit.

Thus, the concessions made to both Ford and GM in special contracts; the firing of all unionized Chrysler Drug store employees in the Loop; the changing of the chain to Apex Drugs and hiring all scab labor at minimum wage: concessions from Great Lakes, McLouth, National and Sharon steel workers, as well as from teachers, county, state, city and federal employees, health care workers, Teamsters, Burroughs employees, Computer Data, who, while paid less than $1 an hour, will work 96 terminals for three shifts a day.

For the latest opposition to Reaganomics see the in-person gathering together the threads of the three parts of this work was made relatively easy by gathering the threads of Marx's development there because we became witness, at one and the same time, to the "gravedigger of capitalism" and the leader of proletarian revolution from actual revolution: each by itself is one-sided.

Gathering together the threads of the three parts of this work has introduced new and unique aspects, previously raised by Marx, but never more so than in his own domain in Detroit. It narrows the whole relationship between causality and freedom; it impedes the dual rhythm of "writings" and "slave labour" by which the new Humanism — was continuously developing. Just as the young Marx, in first referring to what he called "Economics," had discovered the proletariat as the Subject who would be the "gravedigger" of capitalism and the leader of proletarian revolution, so, at the end of his life, Marx made still further discoveries as he turned to new, empirical anthropological studies, as well as to the imperial incursions into the Orient and the carving up of Africa.

From the study of primitive communism Marx made still new discoveries about the same time, a substantiation of his early Man/Worker concept and of the way he had, in his summation of the Paris, Commune, singled out as its greatest achievement its own working existence. Even from Marx's letters to Zasulitch, in the very period during which he was working on the Ethnological Notebooks, he viewed the peasant as "with a second edition" of the Peasant Wars to assure the success of the proletarian victory, but also an essentially instrument of still newer revolutions. As Marx had put the hour of the "identity" of the Western capitalist peasanit commune, he did not think it out of the question that, if a union with Western technically advanced society was possible, it could actually come first in backwards Russia. This was in 1821.

No wonder that our age too feels the impact of the problematic Marxist grappling with in his day: the new revolutionary forces that do not easily arise and are not easily imagined. Let us go back in time to the new Humanism of Marx's new concept of thought and of revolution. Whether or not our age rises to the historic task of transforming reality, one thing there is no doubt: Marx had bawed for the success of the proletarian revolution, but no longer for the hour of the "identity" of the Western capitalist commune. He said times have changed, it is time for us to accept lower standards of living and labor.

Another tactic involves runway shops, not only from the organization is national in the chain to Apex Drugs and hiring all scab labor at minimum wage: concessions from Great Lakes, McLouth, National and Sharon steel workers, as well as from teachers, county, state, city and federal employees, health care workers, Teamsters, Burroughs employees, Computer Data, who, while paid less than $1 an hour, will work 96 terminals for three shifts a day.

For the latest opposition to Reaganomics see the in-person page we have just received of the 75,000 who marched in San Francisco, page 5.
Editor's Note: We received the following response to the 1982 Perspectives Report of News & Letters Commission by Roya Dunayevskaya from a correspondent in Italy. The Perspectives report is available from N&L for 75c (plus 50c postage).

The massacre of Palestinian refugees by Israeli soldiers and paid Israeli civilians could be committed if the people of the world that, after centuries of struggle to maintain their own cultural traditions in host countries, from which they have been expelled, are abandoned by their own leaders and the state created by them. How and why has this happened less than 40 years after the birth of Israel?

The institutionalization of social and cultural values is always a risk because it means that these values become transformed into laws and are regulated by a ruling class. The new values are then spread to all the countries in the world with its kibbutz and free voting rights. The only explanation for all of this is the total decline as a result of the ecological crisis of the capitalist economic system, be it state or private capital.

Anyone who uses this unhappy event to demonstrate that Israel and the Jewish people are controlled by U.S. imperialism and that the PLO is to be supported as a revolutionary movement shows only what hypocrites they are. The Palestinian and Israeli peoples are being used as a means to create a new Hitler-Stalin Pact or a new war.

The Arab and Communist countries used them to protest against U.S. and Western imperialism; Western Europe and the U.S. to protect the Arab people against communism and fascism; the PLO against the French and American intervention; the Palestinians against the Israeli occupation; and the whole world against Israel's aggressive policies that are not only moral but also political and every political group that exists — and this includes the leaders of the PLO — usually with the present or prospective help of the government.

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Dear Youth:

A few days ago I was talking to a young Latina friend who has just entered her junior year of high school. She was telling me how she felt about her class, and she has some degree of freedom in writing essays for her English class.

"I love writing because that is how I can express myself," she said.

I love reading things about philosophy, history, women, so that even when I don't have time for it, I create time.

However, she added, "There are many teachers who claim that you have the freedom to write what you like, but in reality they give you the topic and expect you to write what pleased them most.

ESSAY 'TOO PHILOSOPHICAL'

What this friend said about high school essays reminded me of the experience that I had a couple of years ago in high school, when by contumely I reeling in the sub-

"I'll read political philosophy, too philosophical," said the teacher. "Why? Because it has to do with the need for a method of thinking which allows us to not see the contradictions in life at every moment but also to be able to overcome them.

It was in discussing this topic with other youth that I found out most of them had faced the same barriers in presenting their visions of a new society. It is when each of them had questioned contradictions in this society that they got cold responses from their teachers.

This is not a alone problem that youth face here in the U.S. Look at the way in which an 18-year-old high school woman from East Germany not only questions authority but begins speaking of needs and the search for freedom.

"In political education, I sometimes have the feeling that the teacher does not really understand. When we want to discuss 'social reality is not as we are told, you can change it. If we don't have to bother,' but I am interested in such things. It is our first contact with philosophy, and some start thinking immediately that this is a view that you've never in our lives need.

"I feel stupid when I ask questions. And then the questions are answered in such a way that you lose all desire to ask another question. Our clergyman has the kind of personal contact with people which the teachers don't have. One guy in my class wanted to study theology because the clergyman is so great and does not argue against Marxist in such a primitive way.

"If the teachers were able to make Marxism as interesting as this clergyman does religion, then the clergyman would be out of work. Young people just argue: that is nothing useful. They don't want ready-made truths which they just have to take over.

It is the refusal of young people to accept "ready-made truths" which makes their ideas so crucial for developing a conscious generation of human beings in new society. In-

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Lebanese factions, Palestinian leaders, Israeli and Arab rulers
All sides cover up Shatila massacre

The horror over the Lebanon massacre continues to shock the world. The massacre, according to the U.N. at no time has the class nature of the reactionary side of Zionism both stood out so clearly and gener­ated such a mass movement in the world. That is to the great credit of the Israeli masses, espe­cially the youth.

But on the other hand, the very mass character of the movement against Begin-Sharon inside Israel covers over the fact that, while some oppose the whole genocidal invasion of Lebanon, others merely oppose the “excesses.” Some are actually supposed now that Begin somehow ordains an “instant” of the Shatila massacre, as if the massacres openly done by Israeli bombers over West Beirut were somehow de­fended.

The great cover-up of the Shatila massacre has also begun — and not only Begin-Sharon, the Phalangists and the U.S.-French-Italian “peace forces” now involved. Also involved in the cover-up are all Arab govern­ments plus Iran and Russia, and most tragically of all, the PLO and the Lebanese Left.

For while it is true that Sharon’s Israeli soldiers al­lowed and even assisted the Phalangists in performing their grim ganks at the Shatila camp, it is hypocritically true that it was Lebanese Christians and some Shi’ites — Phalangist and Israeli puppet Saad Haddad’s militia — who did the bloody job with their own hands.

Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home, and in order to prevent the FIT to be isolated, is putting out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of “a new Humanism,” as well as in its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party “to lead.”

How little he cares for human rights and what top priority he now places on real-world problems can be seen when, after a sexual assaultSummer, he announced, “Don’t hate me, hate the system.”

In opposing the capitalist, racist, sexist, ex­ploitationist system in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our Constitution states: “It is our aim . . . to free speech and the press, to keep alive and preserve, and to separate the mass activities from the activity of the killing anyone, everyone who participates in the freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in the possibility of a utopian freedom, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the Considered Tasks and Life and Times Committees.

In 1912 Jim Thorpe, an American Indian, won the Olympic gold medals for the two most difficult athletic achievements, the pentathlon and the decathlon. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked on the 1976 Olympics and its gas or other minorities, women, youth and those in­

ties today. Win or lose this time, their rebellion will continue, as one of the forces for transforming society.

— Richard Bunting

Strikes blanket Britain

More than 600,000 workers in the National Health Service (N.H.S.) here are fighting for a 12 percent increase in their notoriously low wages. So far, this campaign has taken the form of strikes with impres­sive support from other groups of workers. The 22 Sept­ember Day of Action was a most exciting and powerful display of solidarity throughout Britain: from the English Channel, where sailings of the car ferries to France were halted by strike action; to the Shetlands, where work­ers at the fisheries plants and in the mines, docks and shipyards and all the national newspapers, magazines, strike including bus drivers, gas, water and sanitation workers, teachers and school­ferry workers, actors, actresses, actors — all in defiance of the ban on sympathy strikes imposed by new Tory legislation.

The fact is that the brutal Indonesian occupation lives in the Lebanese Muslim and Leftist community. No political activity, “courageously” sallied forth from its barracks but, now being exploited in that country by American capitalist interests.

Jim Thorpe

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